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The Shape of Things

WORKING OUR PASSAGE TO THE NEW WORLD roughly charted by the Paris Economic Conference is likely to prove more complicated than some of America's foreign-policy experts anticipated. The members of the Cooperation Committee had scarcely taken their seats, when the British and French opened fire on the American proposals for Germany. The Labor government fears that Washington's intention is to convert the Western zone into a kind of gigantic American trust. French Ambassador Bonnet spent all of last week trying to convince the State Department that nothing "should be done in Germany at the expense of the security of France and its other neighbors." In the face of this preliminary skirmish within the Western bloc, Washington has yielded ground slightly and proposed two new conferences, one between the United States and Britain on coal and the Ruhr, the other between these two countries and France at which the whole problem of German industry will be reviewed. Unfortunately, Britain, too, has retreated. By yielding to Washington's insistence upon a separate conference on coal, London will find itself under intense pressure to abandon the Socialist program in the British zone; and if a breach is opened in Labor's nationalization plan, the British government is likely to see its work of the past two years wiped out. It is even more difficult for the French to accept the American plan for German recovery. Should M. Bidault yield on the crucial issue of the Ruhr, the French Communists will have a powerful weapon in the October municipal elections. Belated realization of this fact in Washington has held up the plan, but Secretary Marshall should be wary of attributing French opposition to Communist pressure. That pressure is dangerous precisely because the fear of revived German industrial power is universal in France.

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THE TRAGIC FATE OF *EXODUS 1947* IS WORTH studying for the light it throws on the story of Jewish Palestine itself in this year of wrath. The old ship, crowded with 4,500 refugees, was rammed by British destroyers and boarded by fifty sailors who were fiercely resisted by passengers and crew. The attack was made outside territorial waters. Three Jews were killed, including an American, William Bernstein of Los Angeles. The *Exodus 1947* arrived in Haifa under its own power, and its exhausted and battered company were quickly shunted onto vessels usually used to ferry immigrants to Cyprus. This time, the vessels headed not for Cyprus but for France, the country from which the *Exodus 1947* had set sail. Immediately this became known in Palestine, acts of terror multiplied and tension became explosive. The Jewish Agency attacked the government angrily for the brutality of its action. The government blamed those who advised the immigrants to resist and imposed a dusk-to-dawn house arrest of 90,000 Jerusalem Jews. Several Zionist groups in the United States denounced the British and demanded that the State Department act. The statement of the Zionist Emergency Council made a special point of Britain's violation of freedom of the seas. The State Department took no measures. Here in one episode we find compressed the chief ingredients of Palestine's tragedy: the fierce determination of Europe's Jews to fight their way, if necessary, to the promised homeland; British determination to turn back the stream of immigration even by violence and illegality when other means fail and to force the European nations to check the stream at its various sources; the growing reluctance of our own government to bring pressure on Britain, in spite of strong public feeling. By good luck, two members of the United Nations Committee on Palestine were on hand in Haifa to witness the incident. It is to be hoped that they carried its grim lesson with them to Geneva as evidence of the bitter dialectics of repression and terror that now rule Palestine. They should have the story of *Exodus 1947* in mind as they compile their report.

*

IF REASON RULED INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, the United Nations Balkan dispute would have been settled long ago. Since power has replaced reason, the row goes on, endlessly, with Russia joining its Balkan satellites in rejecting the whole plan of a border commission and the United States fiercely denouncing Greece's neighbors as a "menace to the peace." Several delegates from smaller or more disinterested states, notably Dr. Alfonso Lopez of Colombia, have been pleading for a decision aimed at promoting good relations rather than fixing blame for past offenses. Without challenging the findings of the U.N. commission

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against the three border states, they have urged in the Security Council a solution which would remove the immediate causes of friction on both sides of the Greek frontier, and provide protection equally for all parties to the dispute. These efforts have foundered on the rock of Russian intransigeance. Whether they might have succeeded if the American delegate had adopted a less violent and partisan attitude, no one will ever know. But his language certainly ended any chance of persuading the Slav states that a border commission might perform a job of unbiased observation or conciliation. Gromyko has attacked the American proposal on legal grounds as a violation of the Charter, and the debate has assumed the nature of a filibuster. We believe it will end in a Russian veto and a submission of the question to the Assembly. Meanwhile, the fighting in Greece goes on and assumes more and more the character of a general civil war with each side backed, physically and politically, by one of two hostile Great Powers.

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THE ASSASSINATION OF U AUNG SAN AND most of his colleagues in the Burmese interim government came as Burma was taking its last steps toward complete independence. On June 16, the Constituent Assembly had proclaimed a sovereign, independent republic; in October, the British government will introduce legislation in the House of Commons providing for the formal separation of Burma from the British Commonwealth. Thus Burma will be the first nation to follow the United States in winning complete independence from Britain. It is tragic that so historic a change should be marred by an outbreak of political murder. But the country is in an extremely disturbed condition and may well suffer from more violence before achieving stability. In the elections for the Constituent Assembly, Aung San's Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League, which is nationalist and Socialist, captured almost all the seats. It was too overwhelming a victory to be healthy, for, while the league is undoubtedly supported by the majority of Burmese, there are other political groups which cannot be ignored. Outstanding among these are the Communist Party, which practically controls the province of Arakan, and the ultra-nationalist Myochit Party headed by U Saw, former premier. Immediately after the assassination, there were suggestions of Communist complicity, but no supporting evidence has appeared. On the other hand, U Saw and a number of his followers have been arrested and a large arms cache uncovered at his residence. Such a find, however, is no proof of guilt; unfortunately, all the Burmese parties maintain private armies. That is one of the enormous difficulties faced by the new government. Fortunately, the young leaders of the Peoples' League have brains, courage, and self-confidence. They will need all these qualities in establishing their newly won independence on a firm basis.

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THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS —which might be more accurately described as the House Committee on False Economies—has been given an object lesson on the results of its policies. Last month, the Taber group eliminated all Interior Department funds for fire control in Alaska, "it being the opinion of this committee that such fire protection is not justified." The ink of this prophetic language was barely dry before one of the most devastating fires in the Territory's history began to gut 500,000 acres of valuable timber on the Kenai Peninsula. Without funds, the fire-control system could send no organized force to combat the blaze. The fire still burns, and millions of dollars of tree and forage have been reduced to embers on the altar of Congressional "economy."

Freud Is Unfair...

THE quarrel between Monsignor Sheen and the psychoanalysts reminds us of a jurisdictional dispute between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., with Monsignor Sheen in the role, say, of William Hutcheson of the Carpenters Union. It all began when Monsignor Sheen delivered a sermon at St. Patrick's Cathedral in March on Phychoanalysis and Confession. According to the report of the sermon in the New York *Times,* Monsignor Sheen attacked psychoanalysis in general and what he called Freudian psychoanalysis in particular. He said it was a form of escapism that produced "morbidity and disintegration." In confession, on the contrary, "there is no morbidity. You don't look so much on your sins as you look upon your Savior." Whereas psychoanalysis gives no norms or standards, "confession gives you the standard of Christ, the perfect personality." It was a rather good sales talk, except that the Monsignor went on, in what seems to us a rather morbid vein, to call transference, one of the processes used in psychoanalysis, "the transfer of affection to the analyst," and said that it "is only used when a patient is a young and very beautiful woman"—which reminds us of nothing so much as the vulgar charge of anti-Catholic bigots that there is sometimes a "transfer of affection" in the confessional. Sheen added that Freudian psychoanalysis is based on "materialism, hedonism, infantilism, and eroticism."

A number of Catholic psychiatrists took exception to Monsignor Sheen's fundamentalist remarks. And one of them, Dr. Frank Curran, finally resigned as chief psychiatrist at St. Vincent's Hospital because the Archdiocese of New York had not disowned Sheen's attack on a science which is extensively used in Catholic institutions. (Since his resignation, the Archdiocese has explained archly that it has no jurisdiction over Monsignor Sheen, who hails from the Diocese of Peoria, Illinois.) Meanwhile, psychoanalysts, Catholic and non-Catholic, among them Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie, had offered a point-by-point rebuttal of Sheen's attack and asked for a clearer statement of his views—but in vain.

In the middle of June, Monsignor Sheen told Albert Deutsch of *PM,* in a remarkable interview, that the newspapers had misquoted him, but that he hadn't bothered to send in corrections because he never read the newspapers! Finally, however, he condescended to write a letter to the *Times* which was printed on July 21. In this letter, he said that the *Times* had misquoted his sermon and that he had not attacked psychiatry or psychoanalysis in general, but only "Freudian psychoanalysis." He even remembered, in July, that the first paragraph of his sermon in March, which he quoted, had made this specifically clear. This is noteworthy, because when Dr. Kubie had asked for a copy of the sermon two days after its delivery, he was told that "There are never any written copies made of any of my sermons." As Dr. Kubie remarked, it shows a miraculous memory. Having thus backed up and filled in, the prelate of Peoria tried to obscure the whole maneuver by a burst of irrelevant humor.

Obviously, Monsignor Hutcheson—we mean Sheen—is opposed to the psychoanalytical method because it competes, in his view, with the confessional, a tool which that venerable craft union, the Catholic Church, discovered and patented many years ago.

Congress, Late and Lamentable

IT IS difficult to find any field of legislative activity in which the record of the first session of the Eightieth Congress was not dreadful. It poisoned whatever it touched, and what it did not touch, it murdered by that very negligence.

Setting aside, for the moment, the question of what social aims and legislative goals are desirable, and considering only the efficiency of Congress in achieving the goals which it set for itself, the conclusion is the same. The G. O. P. leadership announced its three-point program for this session to be labor legislation, budget reduction, and tax cuts. On the first, it wrote a bill which is self-defeating, whatever the merits or demerits of its stated or hidden objectives. The Taft-Hartley act is administratively unworkable. As for budget reduction, the sky will be the limit on Republican claims, but only those legislators who are shamelessly mendacious will try to argue that they accomplished a curtailment of as much as $3 billion below Mr. Truman's request. Actually, when a whole host of phoney reductions are washed out, the true reduction will be between $1½ and $2 billions —a ludicrous figure compared to the House's noisy promise of a $6 billion cut and the Senate's self-righteous goal of $4½ billions. Such reductions as there were,

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it may be noted, were precisely in those federal activities where cuts were most damaging to useful government. On tax reduction, the claim will be made that Mr. Truman is the villian responsible for blighting the G. O. P. promise. The truth is that it would be hard to conceive of any plan for tax reduction as grossly inequitable, uneconomic, and downright deceitful as the twice-proposed monstrosity which the President vetoed. Much as he might have objected to tax reduction at this time, he probably would not have vetoed an honest bill.

The Eightieth Congress's sins of omission are entirely too many to be catalogued here. They reflect a hell-for-leather drive backwards, toward a normalcy which Warren G. Harding himself could scarcely have stomached. The minimum wage was left at 40 cents an hour; social-security coverage was not expanded; the housing bill was left rotting on the vine; so also was legislation for federal aid to education, a new department for health and welfare, river-valley development, health insurance, and F. E. P. C.

Whenever the Congress did put its finger into domestic-welfare subjects, it traced the curve of reaction. On the pretext of correcting portal-to-portal inequities, already a dead issue by court decision, the Congress ravished both the provisions and the enforcement of previous wage-hour and fair-labor-standards laws. In a distinguished burst of meretriciousness, it professed to extend rent control while cutting out its heart. It completely, almost boastfully (and in utter violation of its own laws), ignored the economic reports sent to it by Mr. Truman and his Council of Economic Advisors.

It purported to be liberal-minded in authorizing this nation's joining the International Refugee Organization, but it refused to pass legislation making that action effective by a temporary amendment of the quota laws to permit entry of displaced persons.

The House failed in its effort to enact a bill of attainder by denying funds to director Edgar G. Warren of the Conciliation Service, but only because the passage of the labor bill abolished that job and made the issue academic. The House had better luck, however, in its Un-American activities. Those of J. Parnell Thomas, Rankin, Rees, and others are making A. Mitchell Palmer look like a very restrained fellow.

In the matter of appointments, the Senate kept an even pace in viciousness with the House. The obscene fight against Lilienthal by McKellar, Bricker, and Taft needs no recalling. In addition, there was Vandenberg's refusal to let his Foreign Relations Committee consider the nomination of Francis Biddle as American delegate to the United Nations Economic and Social Council; the four-months' harassment of Gordon Clapp, nominated to be TVA head; Ferguson's six-month refusal to permit Philip Perlman to become Solicitor General. The only vestige of malfeasance of all of these nominees was previous association with the Democractic Party—an act which, as Leon Henderson points out, has created an entirely new category of Grade B citizens. Fortunately, in three out of these four cases, a majority vote for confirmation made some atonement for the disreputable performance of the Senate diehards. Possibly, when measured in absolute terms, and certainly, when compared to Congress, the Administration has appeared in a favorable light during the last seven months. Mr. Truman's appointments have recently been far superior to those he was making in the days of the Missouri gang. After scuttling Wyatt and the housing program last year, his economic and social thinking has taken a heartening turn for the better. In foreign affairs, he has been at least no more benighted than the Congress, and on the matter of labor proposals there is no comparison at all.

Optimists in Washington have hope that some of the improvement in the Administration will continue, and that the next legislative session will not be so gruesome —the theory being that the first session is the worst session. Pessimists, who are in larger number, see the second session as even more fearsome, on the somewhat more logical grounds that legislative reason diminishes as the election date draws nearer. They also prophesy that in the early 1950's we will look back with regret to the intelligent days of the Eightieth Congress.

Hiroshima Deathday

HIROSHIMA is much tidier today. Much of the rubble is cleared away. The dust is settled. There are even a number of children who can't remember that day two years ago when a passing American plane dropped a bomb that killed a hundred thousand people.

The pillar of fire and whirling vapor that rose above Hiroshima to forty thousand feet was to have led the human race out of the wilderness of war into the green pastures of peace. That is what we said, trying to rationalize the destruction we had let loose on earth. One world or none. Modern man is obsolete. "The good news of damnation," said Hutchins of Chicago, quoting the French philosopher Leon Bloy, "doubtless on the theory that none of us would be Christians if we were not afraid of perpetual hell-fire."

We've got over that first blinding revelation, that foretaste of world death. War books don't sell any more, the publishers say. "Atomic" will sell if it's a name on perfume or lipstick, but Selig Hecht has been off the best seller list for weeks. The United Nations is very poor copy, the newspapers say: even the Atomic Energy Commission. Atomic scientists, who, knowing the score, led the first crusade against world suicide, are no longer in the headlines unless, like Condon, they are maliciously libeled as "reds" by the Thomas committee. We've got used to the idea of two worlds. We're getting used to the idea that away off ahead—ten years

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ahead, perhaps,—there's a war with Russia. We don't quite say "atomic war" and tests of supersonic planes, radar controlled, make interesting reading—but not as interesting as the team standings in the National League with the Dodgers seven full games ahead of the Cards.

Of course, we've been busy in these two years since Hiroshima. And it has not all been wasted effort—not quite all. Some unaccountable horse sense led the Eightieth Congress to put to flight McKellar and his fellow Philistines and establish David Lilienthal as head of the Atomic Energy Commission. Some superhuman patience holds the United Nations atomic group to their labors, so that after fourteen months they can report reaching a qualified agreement that atomic energy must be internationally controlled. And the ticking seconds on the stop-watch have speeded the efforts of the World Federalists, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists around Einstein, and the World Constitution group around Hutchins.

But for most men, Hiroshima was just a bright blinding light that went out. Probably most men are obsolete. World Government, United Nations, One World, Peace are unreal terms. National Sovereignty, National Honor, Russia, War, these spell reality. As the obsolete George Sokolsky—rebuking Einstein—puts it so well: "Most Americans are narrow nationalists and atom splitting has not changed them at all. We have the atom bomb. For better or for worse we mean to keep it."

The Emergency World's People's Congress suggests three minutes of silent thought or prayer on Hiroshima Day. They suggest, "There are many things we might think about during this fateful pause: The collective responsibility of mankind for the long history of war, of which Hiroshima was the logical climax. The duty of all the world's people to mobilize for peace before they are again called upon to mobilize for war. . . ." It took just about three minutes for the bomb to fall on Hiroshima.

Warning All Scientists

BY LEONARD ENGEL

TWO weeks ago, the Washington *Times-Herald* carried a front-page attack on Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the Bureau of Standards, which, even by the *Times-Herald's* own low standards, was a cheap, mean, and dishonest piece of journalism. By unmistakable implication, Condon was accused of Communist sympathies.

My first inclination was to laugh. I know something about Condon, and he is rather less of a Communist than his boss, Secretary of Commerce Harriman. However, the *Times-Herald* attack is only the latest act in a well-planned campaign to tar Condon, a top-ranking scientist, and thus to discredit civilian scientists generally, so that scientific research (especially in the field of atomic energy) can be turned back to the army. The campaign will continue unless the ugly individuals and forces behind it are brought to light and given a thorough scrubbing with lye soap.

The story of the extraordinary campaign against Condon begins with a visit to him by two Un-American Activities Committee investigators last March. They were after—and obtained freely—a copy of a letter mentioning Condon's name in connection with the solicitation of members for the American-Soviet Science Society. The latter, of whose board of directors Condon is a member, is an agency set up chiefly to furnish American research workers with translations of Russian scientific papers, a service several industrial firms now go to great expense to provide for themselves.

Though the society now has no connection with any pro-Soviet organization whatever, though it is to operate on Rockefeller Foundation funds, Representative Thomas of the Un-American Activities Committee appears to have recoiled in fake horror when he saw the letter. Imagine, a government scientist connected with an agency that wants to make it easier for Americans to keep up with what Russian scientists are working on! At any rate, a grossly distorted account of the society and of Condon's link with it appeared in an article by Thomas in the *American Magazine* for June. Condon was also attacked, though not by name, in an article by Thomas in the June 21 issue of *Liberty*.

The caliber of the Thomas pieces and the *Times-Herald* article may be judged from the fact that, in one, Thomas or his ghost-writer identifies the Bureau of Standards as an agency for testing patents (this will be news to the Patent Office) and, in the *Times-Herald*, Condon's first name is given incorrectly as Albert. Besides membership in the American-Soviet Science Society, the three articles charge him with the following sinister delinquencies:

Association with that "red" organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Condon once served, along with several other "respectables," as sponsor of a local Southern Conference dinner);

Having a foreign-born wife who expressed a pro-Soviet opinion at a Washington dinner party (she was born in Chicago and didn't express such an opinion);

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Reluctance to appear before the Thomas Committee (he has never been invited to testify);

Trying to sneak off to Moscow to spill atom bomb secrets (he was nominated by American scientific organizations as a delegate to the jubilee of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R., two years ago).

About the only word of truth in these allegations is that Condon is a leading atomic scientist. That he is. Although he is barely 45, he already has a distinguished career behind him.

A bulky individual with a quiet, low-pitched voice, a quick smile, curly black hair, and a pipe, Condon comes from the West—everywhere West. He was born at Alamogordo, New Mexico, scene of the first A-bomb test. His father was a railroad construction engineer, so young Condon had lived in fourteen different towns and gone to fourteen different schools by the time he entered the University of California in 1921.

When Condon entered California, his interest lay in astronomy. But he soon switched to physics and he is best known among scientists for his contributions in a peculiarly difficult branch of physics, quantum mechanics. Quantum theory, a cornerstone of the atomic age, is equal in importance to Einstein's theories of relativity. It holds that radiation is discontinuous in nature. Condon played a leading part in working out the mathematics of quantum theory and applying it to atomic systems. A large chunk of the theoretical knowledge that went into the atom bomb has Condon's name on it.

Condon did most of this work as a research fellow at Göttingen and Munich, a lecturer at Columbia, and a professor at Princeton and the University of Minnesota. In 1937, he went to the Westinghouse Research Laboratories where, as associate director, he pursued studies with Westinghouse's Van de Graaff generator, the first industry-operated atom smasher and a type of machine as important and costly as the more widely known cyclotron. Three years later, when the whole Allied world suddenly found itself demanding a thousand kinds of radar equipment at once, Condon was put in charge of Westinghouse radar research.

In 1941, Condon was called to serve on two of the most important policy-making organizations set up during the war. One was a committee to explore the feasibility of rocket warfare; it was this committee's recommendation that gave birth to the fabulous Caltech rocket center. The other was the National Defense Research Council's famous S-1 Committees, which had supervision of the early work on uranium fission and made the fateful determination that atomic explosives were a practical possibility. Later, Condon was released from radar work to participate actively in A-bomb research. At Los Alamos, he wrote the "Los Alamos Primer" for new A-bomb researchers; and at Berkeley, he was a leader of the Westinghouse-University of California team that developed the electromagnetic process for replacing uranium isotopes.

Condon returned to Westinghouse's Pittsburgh laboratories early in 1945, but he didn't remain there long. That fall, Senator McMahon, chairman of the Special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, asked a score of the nation's leading scientists to nominate a man for the post of scientific adviser to his committee. Their unanimous choice was Condon, who had also just been elected president of the American Physical Society (one of the youngest in the society's history, by the way). At the same time, at the suggestion of Commerce Secretary Henry Wallace, President Truman appointed Condon director of the Bureau of Standards. Condon was, incidentally, one of the few important Truman appointees to be confirmed by the Senate unanimously.

That brings me to the question of the motives of Condon's detractors. Why are they so anxious to get rid of a man of such obvious attainments and distinction? One factor is the circumstance of his appointment having been suggested by Wallace. To some perverted individuals, a Wallace endorsment is proof that a man is a red of deepest dye. The odd part of it is that, in this instance, Wallace's recommendation involved no political considerations at all. Condon was chosen—this was at a time when Wallace was trying to bring about a rapprochement between industry and the Department of Commerce—because of his industrial laboratory experience. Wallace believed that the Bureau of Standards should be of direct service to industry and he picked the best industrial scientist he could find.

Red-baiting attacks on Wallace appointees are, of course, simply a device for driving New Dealers out of Washington. However, in the case of Condon, there is much more involved. In one respect, Condon is a New Dealer—he stands for public honesty on a vital question that has received all too little attention in the last two years. The bulk of the financing for scientific research now comes from government sources. So the question arises, who owns the resulting patents? Condon is on record as believing that the public should own them, a position directly opposite to that taken by most industrial corporations.

I don't believe that any industry representatives are taking a direct part in the campaign against Condon. But one does know this: industry considers people with views like Condon's highly undesirable and is happy to see them driven out of Washington. If industry really disapproved of the attacks on Condon, it would silence Thomas in a second.

A more important factor is the campaign to turn atomic energy back to the army, a campaign in which Thomas is playing a loud, if incoherent and raucous, part. The give-the-atom-back-to-the-army drive has a complex of origins. One is the widespread—and falla-

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cious—belief that atomic energy is primarily a weapon and therefore belongs under military control. Another is the ceaseless effort of politically ambitious army officers, like General Groves, to extend their political influence; they understand atomic energy's future importance full well. Finally, a major segment of industry is hostile to peacetime application of atomic energy, for fear it will bring an industrial revolution that will shear monopoly of its power; these representatives of industry believe that army control will delay non-military atomic energy development and so safeguard their position.

If the attack on Condon succeeds, no civilian scientist will be safe. For a Thomas that lies and invents and distorts about a Condon will not hesitate to do the same to any other scientist. Nor are nuclear physicists the only scientists threatened. For, as the last war showed, every field of science has important military applications. If atomic energy returns to the army, with it will inevitably go chemistry, geology, biology, medicine.

As Dr. Frank B. Jewett, former president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories and of the National Academy of Sciences, wrote George W. Merck, the pharmaceutical manufacturer and treasurer of the New Jersey Republican party, "It's high time Thomas stopped his Un-American activities." Civilian control of atomic energy was voted by an overwhelming majority of Congress, after the most thorough discussion. Thomas would do well to observe the law for a change, both the law of Congress and, by halting his attacks on Condon, the law of common decency.

Our Blunder in Korea

BY ROGER N. BALDWIN

UNLESS American policy undergoes a change in southern Korea, we are probably going to deliver another country into the waiting arms of the Soviet Union. Thirty million Koreans have been liberated from the Japanese after forty years of subjection, only to suffer a ruinous division at the hands of their liberators. What Koreans passionately desire is unity. But the prospects are: further disunity or final subjection to the Soviets. The present Joint Commission appears stymied by Russia's determination to have a "friendly country" on its borders. A friendly country, on the basis of past experience, means one under Russian control. Hence, every possible effort has been made by the Russians and the Korean Communists to Sovietize their northern half of Korea, and to increase Soviet influence in the southern half.

This latter effort is gaining, not so much through Russian aid and Korean penetration, as through the blind and naive policies of the United States, and the extremism of the Korean anti-Communists. A few days' conversation with Americans and Koreans here makes that fact painfully clear.

It may be said that any observer who has spent only two weeks in Korea, as I did, is hardly competent to analyze the Korean drama, and it may further be contended that one who was denied permission, as I was, to visit northern Korea, cannot set forth the conditions necessary to unity. But the problems of democratic-Communist conflict have a universal character, modified only by local conditions. I met all the leaders in the Military Government, and in the parties of the left and right, as well as a host of Korean officials, intellectuals, students, and lawyers. The conclusions I express have currency in all these circles. No one likes our present policy, nor the prospects it engenders.

Our policy rests on the assumption that the southern Koreans should run their own affairs. But its first implementation, oddly enough, was our establishment of an interim puppet government—legislature, courts, administrators, and police. We appointed all its officials, excepting half of the legislature, which was chosen in what passed for an election, improvised by the military.

That legislature has just now set an election for around September 1, under United States supervision. The puppet government will go out and Koreans will, for the first time in all their centuries of history, have experienced real universal suffrage. The new officials will exercise regional authority until Korea is united. Their government will thus be another form of interim rule. It will doubtless be subject to some control by the United States, for it is hardly conceivable that we will withdraw our armed forces from southern Korea until the impasse with Russia is resolved. None but a pro-Soviet government would desire such a withdrawal on our part. And our commitment to the trusteeship principle indicates the likelihood of some limitation of the sovereignty of the temporary government, no matter how unpalatable that may be to the government itself.

Military rule in a liberated country is rather an anomaly at best, but beyond that, we have poorly prepared southern Korea for independence. We created a govern-

ROGER N. BALDWIN, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has just returned from a trip to American-occupied Japan and southern Korea.

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ment by fiat and we gave it office without power. We reserved the right to remove any appointee and to annul any legislative or official act. We made law by issuing orders, without consulting the legislature. At the same time, we blandly held that we were engaged in a process of "Koreanization," and we urged the Koreans to go ahead and run things—while we held the strings. We thus created, naturally enough, an atmosphere of confusion and distrust, in which the puppet government suffered from schizophrenia, a high turn-over rate, and bitter public criticism of its members. In this atmosphere, no strong democratic system could possibly develop or offer an alternative to the Communist appeal.

Finally, as if to insure the success of the Soviet siren song, we have been party to a Korean police state, bitterly resented by all but extreme rightists. Suppression breeds Communists. That lesson is learned only at high cost, and we have not yet learned it. The national police administration which we foster is run by anti-Communists, terrorists of the right, and police officers trained largely in Japanese methods. The latter still operate under Japanese law. We hold in prison thousands of men convicted by our American provost courts—which are no courts at all, in a legal sense—for "offenses against the occupation." Some such offenses: "Attending, organizing, or acting as an officer at an unauthorized meeting; uttering speech, or words, or singing a song hostile to the United States, the armed forces, or the Military Government; sending a communication detrimental or disrespectful to the United States, or failing to report its receipt; sending an uncensored message, or a letter outside the mails."

These are provost-court offenses, taken from the manual—and in a liberated country. Penalty for committing them may be five years in jail. Most of the prisoners so held are, ostensibly, leftists. Are they "disrespectful to the United States" when they strike or hold unauthorized meetings? The Seoul press reports that 70 per cent of the provost-court prisoners are involved in strike cases. In May, I found a thousand of them isolated in one prison, and kept in total idleness on the excuse that "they did not want to work." Their friends told me it was an additional punishment for carrying on propaganda in prison.

Of course, leftists—like rightists—are guilty of terrorism. Of course, there has been violence in strikes. Of course, the police have been attacked. But such truths do not warrant this wholesale policy of suppression; a suppression which forces many non-Communists to flee to the north in desperation, which causes liberal political leaders to find new quarters every night for fear of the police or of gangs, and which caused the chairman of the legislature, an American appointee, to retire to the United States hospital, ten miles out in the country, because he was "politically ill." I found him there, having his temperature taken, and I would not be surprised if it were high, considering the risks he said he ran. And this man, damned by the right as a Communist, is a staunch middle-of-the-roader, a Princeton graduate, and chairman of the abortive Coalition Committee selected by the Military Government itself.

Only extremes are tolerated in Korea. You are either pro-Soviet or rightist. If you happen, actually, to be a liberal, if you feel that the pro-Japanese collaborators must be purged, that the police must be removed from politics, that unions should have freedom to strike, and that northern and southern Korea must be reconciled—then you are a Communist. You are safe in applauding a Korean who wins the Boston Marathon; and about there you stop. You can't even promote a program of "left" music at a Korean Symphony concert. The musicians have already been threatened by gangsters invading their concert hall.

The right is not without its fears. I found the homes of the two elder statesmen of Independence in Exile guarded day and night by Korean police. The police are fearful, too. Throughout the country, they cluster in their booths, always two or more together; the chiefs of police drive about in guarded cars. They have good reason. Some police have been killed by goaded leftists. Then rightist gangs help the police against the left, and the war is on.

I have no doubt that, under present conditions, civil war would break out in southern Korea if the occupying forces pulled out. That is the belief of high military officials. The civil war would, of course, expand throughout Korea if the Russians left, too. An embryonic civil war is taking place at this moment, in the south. And we Americans tolerate it, to a degree, as an affair between Koreans, a necessary family row, only incidental to our Koreanization program. We save our heavy hand for strikes and criticism of the occupation, and we apply it by universal censorship of meetings, the mails, and communications. To our credit be it noted that we have ended the practise of advance censorship of the press—but only after having suppressed three leftist newspapers.

OUT of the present chaos of southern Korea, three conclusions emerge: first, that we have offered no constructive demonstration of democracy for its own sake as a counter-lure to communism; second, that by nurturing the police state we drive moderates into the Communist camp; third, that our Koreanization policy has created such division and irresponsibility among Koreans and Americans as to be dangerous to our professed objectives.

From the little I heard and read of northern Korea, the Soviet occupation seems to have won considerable popular support. It has distributed land, without com-

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pensation to landlords; it has nationalized industries, again without compensation; it has purged pro-Japanese elements (except for the repentant sinners who joined the party); it has installed a legislature with a semblance of popular backing. So much to the good. On the other hand, northern Korea is, of course, a police state. Some form of conscription has apparently been adopted; the Communists have captured all political leadership; the people are hungry. Two thousand refugees a day tramp over the mountains from northern Korea, looking either for food or greater freedom in the south. Only a trickle of refugees go from south to north, chiefly Communists and Communist sympathizers who do not enjoy being hunted.

If a united Korea is ultimately to be created, the basic economic systems of the two zones must be tied into some reasonable relationship. The south has yet to tackle the distribution of land—in a territory 80 per cent peasant—or the purge of pro-Japanese collaborators. Such action is precluded, it is said, because the interim legislature is too closely allied with landlords and former collaborators. Some of its leaders told me that there are not over a dozen real progressives among its ninety members. Others were hopeful of action after the September elections. Tentative drafts have been made of a constitution, a land law, and a purge act. It would take a year or two at best, say legislative leaders, to put any land law or purge into effect.

The new government may be able to establish a basis for ultimate reconciliation of the political forms and economic institutions of north and south. Its character will depend on the issues of the campaign. If national independence and anti-trusteeship are the issues, as seems likely, the nationalists will win. If they do, there will be an indefinite and tragic deepening of the split along Korea's north-south border.

Possible, but unlikely, in the September elections, is a victory of the left. It favors independence, to win votes, and trusteeship, to win Soviet aid. The issues they would raise, leftists told me, would be land distribution for the peasants, nationalization of industry, opposition to reactionary nationalists, and acceptance of trusteeship as a political necessity. Trusteeship would be expected to enlist Russian influence in offsetting presumed American "imperialism," but it would seem unlikely that a leftist campaign which accepted it would win friends and influence people.

AMERICA has obligations to the Koreans which should be discharged now. The State Department is discharging one of them by replacing military with civil government. Its first task will be to abandon military habits of control in a liberated land. That means putting an end to censorship, control of meetings, licensing of organizations, penalties on criticisms of the occupation, curtailment of strikes, and the imprisonment of the hundreds who are guilty only of spoken or written violation of occupation orders. It also means stopping political terrorism. If this requires joint action by military police and Korean police, under army direction, it should be done that way. Law and order is an American responsibility until the Koreans possess a firmly established government which can maintain it.

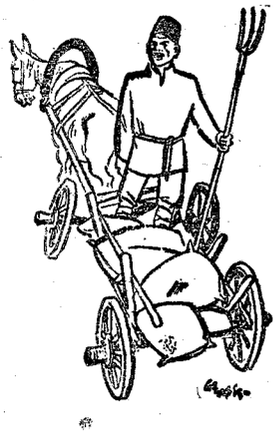
The United States also has an obligation to clear up the trusteeship question, so far as definition will do it. It is the most debated issue in southern Korea. American military officials have stated that trusteeship means "aid and assistance," but how much more it means, they do not say. Until it is officially made clear which is the United States definition of trusteeship—a protectorate superimposed upon sovereignty, or aid and assistance to a sovereign people—the issue cannot be removed as a leading factor in any political campaign.

The Koreans, though so long under alien rule, have the capacity for self-government and a desire for democracy as we understand it. I was struck by the vigor and ability of Korean leaders. They need no guardians. Anyone familiar with the present leadership of the political movements of the southern zone, and with Korean intellectual life, will testify to that. But they will need extensive and expert help to construct a wholly new government and rebuild a shattered economy.

All observers say that a period of transition will be necessary, in which, by mutual agreement, authority would be shared. A longer period of transition would clearly be required if, by a miracle, agreement is reached with the Russians for the creation of a provisional government. Events since the Joint Commission met in May, while I was there, do not promise that; nor did I meet any observers, even then, who felt that the Russians would settle for anything less than the assurance of a Soviet Korea.

Our other obligations are economic. We will be represented in Korea, on whatever terms, for a long time to come. Food, credits, exchange, a self-supporting economy—vastly difficult until unity is achieved—all these demand continued American aid.

With a representative, elected government in southern Korea, we may be able to concentrate on the economic problem and settle down to constructive action. We cannot afford any further major blunders. Here, as elsewhere, our answer to the challenge of communism can only be a working democracy, capable of satisfying the needs and claims of a desperate, brave, and long-suffering people.



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Will Interracial Housing Work?

SECOND IN A SERIES, "RACE BIAS IN HOUSING"

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

WITH the enactment of the United States Housing Act in 1937, responsibility for building and operating public housing projects devolved on the local housing authorities, though the federal government continued to advance the money. No policy as to race relations was pressed on local authorities except that projects were to follow "community patterns and trends." The federal housing administrators had always viewed the racial issue in housing as a hot potato and gladly passed on the responsibility to the localities.

The patterns of tenant distribution that developed locally were not the products of previous exploration of the problem and fanned out in many directions. By January 13, 1944, public housing projects tenanted partially or wholly by Negroes were divided as follows:

Total number of projects occupied by Negro tenants, 622.

Number of projects providing for total occupancy by Negroes, 297.

Number of projects providing for occupancy by Negro and white tenants, 325.

Of the projects occupied by Negro and white tenants, 124 were "controlled"—that is, buildings or sections were deliberately assigned to bring about racial separation. Forty-five were "uncontrolled," with management making no effort to bring about a separation between the races. Eighty-nine were "partially controlled." In this group, the buildings at one end were allotted to one race and those at the other end to the other race, with a flexible area in between.

The racial patterns that have developed in projects, however, are not all uniform. They may be classified as follows:

1. Insulated homogeneous—projects occupied by whites and Negroes separated in two different areas with a clear dividing line, such as a street or intervening neighborhood.

2. Insulated bi-racial—projects in which whites and Negroes occupy different sections of a single self-contained project.

3. Mixed token—occupied predominantly by whites with a few token Negro families to indicate absence of intentional discrimination.

4. Mixed equal—occupied by whites and Negroes in equal or nearly equal proportions.

5. Mixed minority—occupied predominantly by whites but with Negroes represented by a minority.

6. Insulated bi-racial-token—projects in which the Negroes occupy a separate section but one or a few token Negro families are mixed in with the whites.

The experience gained from these projects is not unseasoned, for public housing projects have been in operation for more than ten years. The tenants have not been exclusively lower-income groups, higher-income groups having lived in the war projects. The racial problems that have arisen have, with rare exception, been tackled successfully.

Considering the novelty of the approach and the perplexities inherent in any effort to reshape a living pattern founded upon an old prejudice, the experience is one of the most revealing in the history of the race-relations enigma. The deduction to be drawn may be summarized as follows: *if Negroes are integrated with whites into self-contained communities without segregation, where they have daily contact with other tenants, are given the same privileges, and share the same responsibilities, initial tensions tend to subside, differences are reconciled, and cooperation develops—in short, an environment is created in which interracial harmony will be achieved.*

This conclusion is supported by many reports of housing authorities which have ventured into mixed occupancy. The Philadelphia Housing Authority says that it has "been able to operate housing projects with mixed occupancy without difficulty or untoward incidents." Pittsburgh's eight projects are all successful mixed communities. The Los Angeles Housing Authority "points with pride to the harmony that has been achieved in its Aliso Village, an 802-unit slum-clearance development devoted temporarily to the housing of war workers, among whom are large representations of various races, colors, religions, and nationalities." The Chicago Housing Authority, in a project of 586 dwelling units of which 117 are occupied by Negroes, finds that an adjustment is made "within a surprisingly short time despite the fact that many of the tenants are living in Chicago for the first time and that many came from small communities where interracial living was unheard of."

New York City's experiment with mixed occupancy has been in progress since about 1935. The following

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table shows the proportion of Negroes to total occupancy in its federal projects in 1946:

	Total Occupancy	*Negro*
Williamsburgh	1622	34
Red Hook	2545	127
Queensbridge	3149	123
Vladeck	1531	14
So. Jamaica	448	341
East River	1170	124
Kingsboro	1166	550
Clason Point	400	7
Markham	360	36

In none of the projects are Negroes separated from the whites, and in none has there been friction. "The experiment," says the Authority, "if you wish to term it an experiment, has been a very successful one in every way."

In some cases, there have been problems and managerial headaches, and in some, disappointments, but these have only pointed up the need for a proper race-relations policy and the desirability of following the mixed-race practice which has so notably succeeded in other cities. For example, difficulties have arisen where Negroes were isolated in one part of the project, a pattern which tends to intensify class and race consciousness. The presence of "a majority of the minority" in a project has tended to discourage applications by white tenants. But if the Negro families have only a token representation, they are likely not to participate in its activities. Such management policies only discourage integration and accentuate race distinctions.

Still other problems were created by war migrations. The infiltration of Southern Negroes and Southern whites into war-production areas brought tension or conflict. But in the pre-war projects and in the large majority of war projects in which the minority was mingled with the white majority, the experiment proved a signal success. It would have been significant had it succeeded in only a single instance. That it succeeded in so many, where it was properly applied, is of epochal importance to America, pointing up the false mythology that still underlies much of our thinking on the race question in housing. The success of the bi-racial war projects which were occupied by the higher-paid skilled workers suggests that a properly tackled program of bi-racial housing for higher-income families would again succeed.

HOW is the public-housing experience to be reconciled with that of private real estate, which so often sees a mass exodus of white tenants the moment an unwanted minority moves into the neighborhood? Why do values collapse, when Negroes come in; why are homes so often sold at a sacrifice? Why has the use of the restrictive covenant increased? How explain the aversion to a Negro neighbor when a Negro is freely accepted into the household as a servant? The answer may explain the pattern of enforced segregation that has become intensified in the last few decades.

The indicated causes are mainly three varieties of fear: fear of losing social status, fear of losing established neighborhood associations, and fear of losing an investment. Some idealists are quick to condemn fellow-citizens who oppose infiltration by a minority and either sell their property or join a local association formed to keep the minority out. It should, however, be understood that the fears mentioned are as common to the American proletariat as they are to the so-called gentry. Dismissing them with an airy shrug will get us nowhere.

The social status of a neighborhood is an item to be reckoned with by any home owner, tenant or investor. Where one lives is usually indicative of one's station in life and has an effect on friends, potential friends, and business associates. The character of the neighborhood may be especially important to one's daughter during her marriageable years. Unhappily, social status depends partly on race and color. Sometimes a single Grundy in a neighborhood may inspire organized opposition; sometimes the intrusion of a single family of "unwelcome ancestry" may precipitate an exodus—first by those best able to afford it, then by others. The section gets to be known as "the undesirable part of town," houses fall into disrepair, and the neighborhood turns into a hand-me-down.

With the movement of one's neighbors, established associations begin to suffer: the composition of the school changes, the bridge club goes uptown, the old movie house is no longer what it used to be, and the old parishioners are no longer seen in church. Social pressure to move into the "better" section of town sets in.

These changes usually precipitate a collapse in property values. Owners become anxious to sell, too many properties are put up for sale at one time, values suffer. Mortgagees will now insist upon payment of their mortgage principal or drastic reduction of their loans when they become due and will make no new loans in the neighborhood. The physical deterioration of many of the buildings pares values further.

In a few cases, infiltration by a minority may raise rentals and even boom prices. This happens when a shortage of dwelling space for the minority inspires its members to pay a ransom price for the privilege of getting a better home in a better section.

Change in the racial character of the neighborhood is accelerated when mass infiltration is feared, and when fear has become increasingly responsible for heightened racial tensions. Mass infiltration is bound to occur when there is a shortage of dwelling space for the minority. Races pressed for shelter will force their way into a neighborhood if the opportunity is given them. Few

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neighborhoods are lastingly safe. The more stringent and the more widespread are the methods taken to exclude the minority, the less living space will be available to it, and the stronger therefore will be its pressure. As soon as a few minority families move in, the influx acquires the force of a tidal wave. No restriction will be effective to keep the minority out so long as there is a shortage of housing for the minority.

Hornets' Nest in Indonesia

BY CHARLES WOLF, JR.

THE Dutch have embarked upon a program of "limited police measures," in Java and Sumatra, which are neither "limited" nor "policing" in the usual sense of those words. From recent reports, it appears, rather, that the measures taken constitute a full-scale military action limited only by the number of Dutch troops, arms, and planes available, and aiming ultimately at the unilateral enforcement of the Linggadjati agreement of March 25.

The Dutch action was taken, moreover, against the iterated and reiterated wishes and counsel of the United States and British governments, and from that action there can be no immediate turning back. The results of this precipitous move will, in all likelihood, be threefold: military, economic, and political.

In the first place, we have the beginning of what will be a long and bloody guerrilla warfare, after the initial momentum of the Dutch drive has been spent. After the arrival of the 2nd Division this month, Dutch troops in Indonesia will number about 109,000. They will compose a strong, disciplined, well-equipped, mobile and mechanized force, with adequate first-line air support, but with a relatively small ability to replace damaged or lost equipment. Their morale is generally good. I have talked with many of the officers and men, both in Batavia and at hill stations in Java, from the time they began to arrive in large shiploads a year ago. They seemed ready and anxious to fight, on the theory that the fighting had to come: the sooner it began, the sooner it would be over, and the sooner they could return home. Without exception, they felt that the military issue would be settled within a matter of weeks by the complete destruction of the Indonesian forces. I believe, however, that this appraisal will prove to be hasty and inaccurate. The republican army will not be destroyed, because it will not be caught in large-scale, direct action against the Dutch. Instead, it will take to the hills and to the natural fortifications in which Java and Sumatra abound, and will prosecute a long harassing campaign, even after the Dutch have attained their major objectives.

CHARLES WOLF, JR., returned in June from sixteen months' duty in an official post in Java, to accept a graduate fellowship in public administration at Harvard.

The Tentara Republik Indonesia (the republican army) is a trained, if untried, force. It contains both regular and irregular units. The irregular local forces—the Lasjkar Rayat or "People's Forces" and the Barisan Banteng or "Buffalo Militia"—were organized by the Japanese and have only recently come under the centralized command of the T. R. I.'s General Soedirman.

In total strength, the T. R. I. possesses or directs some 200,000 troops, of which 150,000 are in Java and 50,000 in Sumatra. This combined force, which still bears the markings of the Japanese model from which it was constructed, is armed with approximately 150,000 rifles, and something under 5,000 small arms, machine guns, and mortars. The republic has a token air force of Japanese Zero fighters and a few bombers. Not more than forty planes, in all, are in flying condition. And Air Commodore Soeriadarma commands only half as many pilots as he does planes.

It is worth remembering that the French, in Indo-China, have been stalemated by less than 160,000 Viet Namese guerrillas with 50,000 rifles. And there are more French troops in Indo-China than there will be Dutch in Indonesia. In addition, the Dutch will be engaging a considerably stronger and more organized foe than have the French, and they will be operating over a considerably larger area with an exceedingly difficult terrain. Like the French, the Dutch may win their initial objectives; like the French, they will soon be bogged down.

Economic repercussions will swiftly follow the outbreak of military action in Indonesia. These repercussions are likely to be particularly unfortunate from America's point of view. It is the announced intention of the republican government to follow a scorched-earth policy in the course of its retreat, and plans for execution of this policy were drawn up long before the Dutch attack of July 21. Likely to be burned and permanently lost to the world's economy as a result, are accumulated stockpiles of from 200,000 to 600,000 tons of sugar, approximately 1,500 tons of cinchona bark, from which quinine is made, over 6,000 tons of hard-cordage fibers, and indefinite quantities of rubber, tobacco, and tea.*

* The Dutch claim that the burning of factories, plantations, and stockpiles by the republican forces had been going on for weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, and that the necessity of preventing the further destruction of vital resources was one of the important factors in the decision to take military action.—EDITORS.

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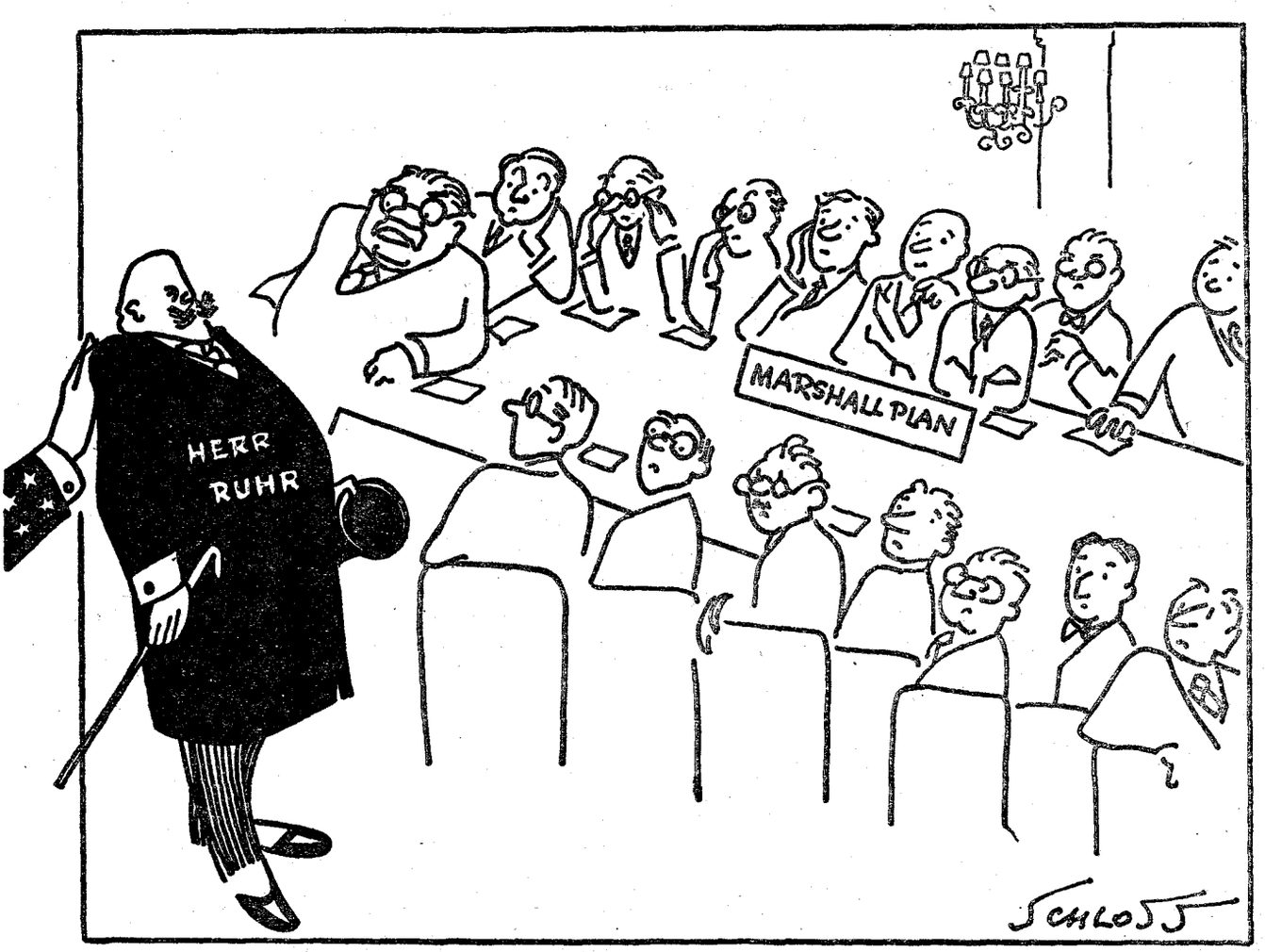
The political effects of the Dutch decision have already begun to be felt, and it is certain that they will increase in scope and intensity in the near future. India's Pandit Nehru is an Indonesian sympathizer and a personal friend of the republic's vice president, Mohammed Hatta, and its former prime minister, Soetan Sjahrir. Nehru has already expressed his government's displeasure over the outbreak of hostilities, and has requested both Britain and the United States to mediate the dispute before it goes any further. Hadji Agoes Salim, the republic's shrewd old foreign minister, is still in Cairo, continuing his mission to gain friends for his cause throughout the Middle East, and Sjahrir is embarking on a world tour to plead the Indonesian case. It is only a matter of time before the subject will be brought up in the United Nations. When it is, the Arab League, India, and Australia are likely to take a particularly active hand in the proceedings.

In the face of all this, what are the Dutch motives for embarking on their "limited policing" program? There can be no doubt that two factors have been decisive. Dutch patience has been exhausted by the dilatory tactics of the republic during the last phase of the two-year negotiations. And the Dutch exchequer has been exhausted by the drain of the 3,000,000 guilders (roughly $1,000,000) required each day to maintain armed forces in Indonesia—with no appreciable economic rehabilitation or resumption of trade yet evident.

Dr. H. J. Van Mook, the Dutch Lieutenant Governor-General, has played a peculiarly interesting role in the present events. A liberal statesman who has been widely criticized in Holland for his concessions to the Indonesians, Van Mook is now, incongruously enough, a sponsor of military action. The reason behind this apparent change of heart is somewhat obscure. As an idealist and something of a zealot, Van Mook has become discouraged by the course of events since the signing of the Linggadjati agreement, which recognized the de facto authority of the republic in Java and Sumatra, and provided for the formation, by January 1, 1949, of a federalized United States of Indonesia. Indonesia would then have been an equal and sovereign partner with the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the Dutch crown. Now, distraught and disappointed by delays and obstacles created by the republicans, Van Mook has evidently decided that he can implement the agreement more effectively on a unilateral basis. He is a man of principle, and there is no doubt that he sincerely believes he can bring about a conclusive and just resolution of the problem, on unilateral terms. Regardless of the integrity of his motives, however, his current policy appears misguided, and doomed to an unhappy ending.



THE SEVENTEENTH GUEST

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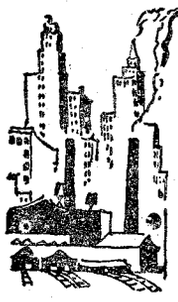

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Congress Sugar Daddies

WHEN the *Wall Street Journal* snaps at both the G. O. P. and at business interests in one editorial, then man has really bitten dog. It did just that, on July 22, in commenting on the sugar bill which has passed the House and got the approval of the Senate in the closing hours of the session. As a result, explains the *Wall Street Journal,* "sugar is to be put under a completely 'planned economy;' which is another word for monopoly. . . . If we understood what the Republicans were saying in the last campaign, they were denouncing this sort of business. If we understood a great many associations of businessmen, they have been asking that the government leave them alone. But here is the Republican Congress about to approve as neat a little legal monopoly as one would care to see. We may have missed it, but we have not heard any of the business associations pointing out what their colleagues in the sugar industry are up to."

Needless to say, my views on economic planning do not coincide with those of the *Wall Street Journal,* but on this occasion I can add "amen" to their editorial. For the sugar bill is a scandalous example of "private socialism;" that is to say, of the employment of government planning, fiscal, and police powers, not for the general welfare, but for the profit of special interests. In order to protect domestic sugar growers and refiners, imports are to be rigidly restricted and prices held at a scarcity level. Moreover, the bill violates, in the most flagrant manner, the principles of freer trade and non-discrimination that American representatives are at this very moment advocating at Geneva.

In the main, the bill follows the same line as the sugar act of 1937 which was passed at a time when sugar prices were abnormally low. Like that act, it requires the Secretary of Agriculture to forecast, by October 31, the probable demand for sugar during the coming year, and on this basis to fix allotments for various consumers and producers. But whereas the old legislation instructed the Secretary to guard against scarcity, the new accents avoidance of surpluses and price maintenance. According to the bakers, who use a lot of sugar, the price is likely to be three cents a pound higher than it would be in a free market, adding $30,000,000 a year to the consumers' bill for baked goods alone.

The bill sets the following quotas for American producers:

	Short tons, raw value
Domestic beet sugar growers	1,800,000
Mainland cane sugar growers	500,000
Hawaiian growers	1,052,000
Puerto Rican growers	910,000
Virgin Island growers	6,000
	4,268,000

To the Philippines, a quota of 952,000 tons is assigned in accordance with the Philippines Trade Act. Cuba's share of the market will be 98.64 per cent of whatever tonnage is required to meet domestic demand, after allowing for the above quotas, leaving all other sugar-producing countries to scramble for the remaining 1.36 per cent. However, since it is expected that the Philippines will be unable to provide the whole of its assigned tonnage during the next few years, Cuba will be permitted to make up whatever deficit arises and will also be allowed to ship additional amounts of sugar if mainland producers prove unable to deliver their full quotas in any year. Finally, the Cubans are guaranteed that their share of the American market will not be smaller than it was under the old law.

If per capita consumption of sugar returns to the prewar level, total American demand will be about 7,500,000 tons. Thus when Philippine production is restored, Cuba's quota will amount to less than one-third of this total, or 2,250,000 tons. Yet it was Cuba that came to the rescue during the wartime scarcity. While production of domestic producers declined, the Cuban plantations expanded acreage and output, and in the current year are delivering to the American market nearly 4,000,000 tons of raw sugar, making possible the end of domestic rationing. Now Congress says, in effect: "Thanks for the effort, *amigos,* but you had better abandon a lot of that new acreage, for our own boys are afraid of competition and *they* have votes."

The quotas given by the bill to the domestic producers, in fact, add up to about 20 per cent more than their average output in the ten years, 1936-45. In addition, they will continue to benefit from the tariff of 75 cents a 100 pounds imposed on Cuban sugar, from incentive payments and subsidies, and from the price maintenance activities of the Department of Agriculture. The domestic refiners are also being well looked after. Imports of refined sugar are limited to 586,000 tons a year, a quota divided between Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. This provision not only discriminates against foreign countries but imposes an internal embargo operating against such integral parts of the United States as Hawaii. Is it constitutional?

The sugar bill, it is not surprising to learn, was drafted by the domestic growing and refining interests. The Cuban sugar companies, mostly American-owned, were not consulted. They appear, however, to regard the bill as a slight improvement on the 1937 act. Nevertheless, they are faced with very difficult problems of adjustment for, when the world sugar situation returns to normal, they will have a huge surplus capacity. American businessmen and farmers, other than sugar-growers, will also be adversely affected. Cuba is one of the largest foreign customers for American goods, including foodstuffs, textiles and machinery.

As for the ordinary American citizen, the bill hits him twice in the pocketbook nerve; his sugar will cost him more and he will be contributing as taxpayer to subsidization of the industry. He may, therefore, be inclined to ask, as the *Wall Street Journal* does: "Is there any reason why the producers all along the line should not have their profits limited; is there any reason why they should have the consumer pay for their protection?" Very pertinent questions and ones that apply to other commodities as well as sugar.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Realism Is Not Enough

NO PEACE FOR ASIA. By Harold R. Isaacs. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM IN THE ORIENT. By Ralph Coniston. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

VICTORY has been followed by reaction in Asia too. But the reaction, American-supported, is no solution to human problems in Asia any more than elsewhere; it is a phase in the great revolutionary travail of Asiatic society and will be succeeded by other phases even less advantageous to the United States. As we approach the disaster which Asia seems to have in store for us, thoughtful Americans can enjoy the bitter satisfaction of foresight.

Victory in Asia brought reaction because the victors had been too long absent and had fallen behind the march of history. Japan knocked out the sovereign authority of the Dutch, the French, and the Kuomintang over large areas of dense population and at the same time roused popular movements of resistance. What had been "resistance" in war time, however, became "revolution" after Japan surrendered. The sovereign victors could return only by suppressing the popular movements. Britain succeeded in forcing the Dutch and French regimes precariously back into Java and Indo-China. The United States succeeded in bringing the Kuomintang precariously back into Eastern China. These regimes were, after all, allies and sovereign powers.

The return of the victors had a curious pattern. In areas liberated from Japan the liberators found it necessary at first to use the local Japanese troops against the native peoples which were being liberated and whose resistance movements threatened the status quo ante. Later, however, it was possible for the victors to return in force in American ships and planes, using American arms and equipment, with American training, wearing American uniforms, and accompanied by American observers with the American flag.

One result of our being the arsenal of democracy was that the legally recognized governments of the Far East were able to reassert their sovereignty only by using obvious American support to attack the popular revolutions in Java, Annam, Central Luzon, and North China. And so, to most thoughtful Asiatics, the United States no longer means democracy.

This tragedy would have occurred even if Marx had never lived and communism never been invented. It results from the fact that during the war the established pre-war political institutions of colonial and semi-colonial Asia were outdated by the growth of political consciousness and popular organization. While we fought a war, Asia began a revolution. Unfortunately we allowed the tail end of our great military effort to become a counter-revolution.

This tragedy for the American people is heightened by the fact that communism does exist, that it competes for the allegiance of popular movements in Asia, and that the American mood is one of emotional reliance upon our wealth and power rather than an intelligent realization that we are turning the Asiatic half of mankind against us.

Naturally this picture is not all black or white, and many of our best friends, as well as the best people, are fighting the Asian revolutions and clamoring for more aid. It is unhappily reassuring, therefore, to find essentially the same picture presented by two such diverse reporters as Harold Isaacs ("No Peace for Asia") and Ralph Coniston ("The Future of Freedom in the Orient"). Coniston's is a lighter book, more episodic and casual, based similarly on first-hand observation. It reinforces Isaacs's conclusions and finds the seeds of war in every corner of the Orient.

"No Peace for Asia" is a vigorous dissection of the nationalist rivalries which now lead us toward destruction, and the most vivid, and biting, survey which has yet appeared of power politics in the post-war Asiatic spheres of Britain—India, Indonesia, and Indo-China—and of the United States—China, Japan, lower Korea. Isaacs sees contradictions everywhere. He castigates the British despoiling of India through the decades, which has left the country under-industrialized, poverty-stricken, 88 per cent illiterate, and politically divided. Yet he sees that one factor holding India back has been the conservative weakness of Indian nationalism, "diluted and confused by Gandhi's pacifism and his mystic ruralism." On Indo-China he gives a vivid first-hand account of the cynical Anglo-French attack on the Viet Minh, noting that the latter got its earliest inspiration from the French libertarian tradition.

As for the United States, where we formally "represented a distant dream that would one day spring alive and bring with it felicity for all," we now appear to Asiatics as the foes of social change and the defenders of archaic conservatism. In the Chinese civil war "the United States stands as the committed supporter of one side, the decadent, brutal, incompetent, tyrannical side, whose only visible virtue from the official American point of view is its opposition to the Communists . . . the civil war in China is already in essence a masked border war between Russia and the United States." Chiang Kai-shek has used for his own ends at different periods communism—he was once the "Red General"—Anglo-Saxon democracy, Christianity, European fascism. The New Confucianism which he now espouses was the main enemy of the great nationalist movement through which he came to power twenty years ago.

As for Russia, the internationalism of the Bolshevik revolution under Lenin and Trotsky shifted, under Stalin, "from the radical world view to the conservative national view." Under the tyranny of its new bureaucratic superclass, nationalist Russia has used the potentialities of international revolution to strengthen itself in a thoroughly cynical and self-centered program of self-preservation. That the Soviet fatherland has thus picked up the thread of

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classic Russian imperialism was demonstrated in the Yalta agreement and the Sino-Soviet treaty, which restored to Stalin the long-lost acquisitions of the czars in Manchuria.

Isaacs uses these contradictions between myth and reality, past and present, to highlight the illness of our society. Years ago he wrote a valuable research monograph, "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," analyzing the Stalinist failure in China in the revolution of 1925-27 from a Trotskyist point of view. Yet he is by no means doctrinaire. Rather, he is too keen a reporter and too sympathetic to the human struggle not to be a disillusioned idealist. His view of the evil forces at work in Asia is a projection of the kind of liberalism which casts a plague on everyone's house, and he documents it till it sticks. He believes we face nationalist war and self-destruction unless there is quickly a "radical change of the whole structure of society," "a new world order" based on internationalism, new world agencies, a new world economy.

I was going to suggest, like the devotees of practical politics, that this disillusioned idealism is not practical, that we must acknowledge harsh realities, understand and discriminate, face our choice of evils and choose the lesser ones. But I am afraid Isaacs is right: there isn't time to go on choosing lesser evils. It only makes them bigger. Realism and arms will not save us without a new attitude and spirit.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

"Candomblé"

THE CITY OF WOMEN. By Ruth Landes. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THIS tourist account by an anthropologist of a field trip to Brazil is devoted in the main to "candomblé," one of a number of fascinating African survivals in the Western Hemisphere. West Africans brought this religious cult from their homeland when they were shipped as slaves to Brazil, and their descendants are keeping it alive today in a modified form. In the old seaport town of Bahia Miss Landes observed condomblé rituals and came to know a number of the devotees and priestesses who belongs both to the Catholic church and to the Yoruba temples. In the Afro-Brazilian cult Olurun, the Yoruba equivalent of the supreme deity, is worshiped through a series of lesser divinities, or *orishas,* who have their counterparts in the hierarchy of Catholic saints, beginning with Oxalá, who has become identified with Jesus. Human communication with cult deities is established through the temple "mother" and through priestesses dedicated to specific *orishas.* "The City of Women" describes devotional dances in which temple priestesses achieve a trance-like state during which the gods "enter their heads" and "ride them."

In the orthodox Yoruba temples, according to Miss Landes's descriptions and reported conversations, the hierarchy is matriarchal. Men serve only as *ogans,* protectors of the temple: those few who become priests and dance are scorned as effeminate types. This emphasis on matriarchy as fundamental to the cult is questionable, however. Other investigators have ascribed the dominance of women in the older temples to their stronger adherence to the "old" or African ways and to their greater willingness to undergo the years of preparatory training.

Some discussion of the "gêge-nago" cults of Africa, from which the candomblé derives, might have been enlightening in this and in other connections, but they are not even mentioned in "The City of Women." They might, moreover, have served as a useful point of departure for investigating the candomblés as part of an acculturation process of West African to Catholic rites and mythology. But throughout the book Miss Landes's interests tend to center rather on the more sensational aspects of candomblé. It is this unfortunate susceptibility to striking surface expressions and imperviousness to sub-surface forces that is the basic shortcoming of "The City of Women." And as an almost inevitable corollary of this tourist approach, the book contains no references to the highly developed West African culture that so deeply conditions current Afro-Brazilian attitudes and beliefs. Yet that heritage of ancient community organization, of profound human and religious values, and of generous acceptance of alien but compatible gods, partially explains the African temples of Brazil. It also provides a possible clue to why the worshipers of Olurun have fully embraced Jesus and his saints with no diminution of dedication to the old gods of Africa.

The Negroes of Bahia and the candomblés have been fairly thoroughly investigated by native Brazilians. In English there is an excellent study by Donald Pierson, "Negroes of Brazil." No new light is shed on the subject by "The City of Women." Its chief value is that it is the first popularly written account of candomblé; but that is no excuse for careless writing and for even more careless thinking.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

Visions, with Trimmings

KINDERGARTEN CHATS AND OTHER WRITINGS. By Louis H. Sullivan. Edited by Isabella Athey. Wittenborn and Company. $4.50.

IN 1946 the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects was "presented" to Louis Sullivan, who had been dead twenty-two years. "He attacked intrenched beliefs. He repudiated false standards. He scorned the stylistic gods of the market place." Such prophets we need in every field; in religion first of all, but also in politics, economics, and education. Like Sullivan, they are likely to "fight almost alone in their generation, live unhappily and die in poverty." It is an appropriate tribute to Sullivan's memory that his "Kindergarten Chats" should at last be made available to the general public. These essays are of concern to architects in the noblest sense: master-builders, planners, men who turn needs into visions, visions into blueprints, blueprints into stone and steel. For Sullivan professed that "the study of architecture is a branch of social science —the study of a newly shaping type of civilization."

This tribute is ungrudging. Men of the Sullivan type are the salt of the earth. But our admiration should not be uncritical and translate itself into rhapsodies of the "Fountainhead" type. Nothing is so contrary to the artistic spirit—which I equate with the prophetic—as the slavish worship of the unconventional. As soon as man or formula become the object of a cult, it falls under Sullivan's condemnation.

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A free spirit, not shackled by cliques or fashions, must recognize that Sullivan was not a pure victim, crucified by a coarse and stupid generation. He had his chance. If he failed at the end, it was through some inner flaw which was not excess of wisdom or power. Perhaps he needed the cleverer Adler. The Chats are insufferably overwritten. It is curious that functionalist architects should almost invariably, when they write, cultivate the most extreme Baroque. His professional achievements are by no means sensational. There is still a great deal of the Richardsonesque in the Auditorium, and Richardson's style reminds me of a Wagnerian opera: it would have appealed to Hitler. The Wainwright, in St. Louis, is better, although vaguely Egyptian. The excellence of the Carson Pirie and Scott store is purely negative.

Architectural doctrinairism is as bad as all the other forms of that disease, and possibly a little worse. Sullivan, no doubt, has fine things to say about human and dollar values, and about function and form. But there is also on every page an excess of pyrotechnic patter. In so far as architecture is engineering, functionalism in the plainest sense rules supreme; beauty is not an inevitable result but a happy accident. But in *art*, form and function do not coincide. What on earth is the "function" of a Van Gogh?

Sullivan spurns "logic, scholarship, and taste," and demands "common sense, a thoroughly disciplined mind, a perfected technique, and an abundant and gracious gift of expression"—exactly the same things not so tersely expressed. To be sure, he places first "a poetic imagination," as did Boileau. But an office building requires well-organized floor space, nothing else. His condemnation of the historical styles for modern use involves a fallacy. No doubt a Richardsonesque railway station, like the Union Depot at St. Louis, is an anachronism, a boner on a colossal scale. But it would have been foolish for Lafarge and Cram to house a traditional faith in a revolutionary building.

In so far as architecture is art, it has overtones which are not functional but symbolic. And symbol is a language which cannot be created anew by every man. Mallarmé's mysterious Angel could only "impart a purer meaning to the words of the tribe." Sullivan says, and I agree with him, that a Roman temple has no business on Monroe Street, Chicago. But he adds, "Such a structure must of necessity be a simulacrum." All the significant words are Latin. Why does he not talk plain Chicagoese of the twentieth century?

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Romantic Poet

A CHOICE OF ENGLISH ROMANTIC POETRY. Edited with an introduction by Stephen Spender. The Dial Press. $4.

THIS selection from Blake to Emily Bronte, but mainly the romantic poets of the early nineteenth century—is meant for the general reader (bless him) who finds poetry necessary to his well-being. But even for the person who has read widely in romantic poetry, it is a pleasant book to have around. It contains a sufficiency of the better known poems in addition to some that are not as well known, and selections from longer romantic poems which the general reader has probably not read and which the exceptional reader is not likely to care to read again in full. Shelley and Keats are best represented; Wordsworth and Byron, as Spender says, cannot be anthologized.

Spender's introduction is intelligent and acute, but for all that, not very good. He writes of romanticism too much in the old academic and literary way. That is, his criticism is descriptive rather than historical. The "why?" still remains unanswered. Why nature, why solitude, why fantasy? Why couldn't romantic poets like Shelley give poetic expression to their "prose ideas"? Spender says, "The romantic poet is divorced from history, which he ends by despising." Is he? Why? It seems to me that by locating and defining, no matter how unsurely, a reason why the romantics felt themselves divorced from history, he would have done more to help the reader understand the poems than he has by describing what took place inside the poets and the poems. Significantly enough, he is best on Keats, of all the English romantics the one who sticks closest to poetry and strays least. I was delighted, by the way, to find quoted in full in the introduction (for purposes of contrast) George Herbert's poem Prayer, which ends with the magnificent lines:

Church-bells beyond the stars heard, the soul's blood,
The land of spices, something understood.

H. P. LAZARUS

Films

JAMES AGEE

"CROSSFIRE" is a gruesomely exciting story about some soldiers, one of whom murders a Jew. It is extremely well played by Roberts Young, Mitchum and Ryan, very notably Ryan; by Sam Levene and Paul Kelly; and by practically everyone else in the cast. It is excellently written and directed by John Paxton and Edward Dmytryk, respectively. In part, I don't doubt, because the picture is *about* something, which everyone making it can take seriously, it is, even as melodramatic entertainment, the best Hollywood movie in a long time. (Chaplin doesn't make Hollywood movies; he makes Chaplin movies.) Much of its more serious stuff, about Anti-Semitism, is very good and very heartening too, but I think the following qualifiers must be recognized: 1) In a way it is as embarrassing to see a movie Come Right Out Against Anti-Semitism as it would be to see a movie Come Right Out Against torturing children. 2) Few things pay off better in prestige and hard cash—granted you present it in an entertaining way—than safe fearlessness. 3) This film is not entirely fearless, even within its relatively safe terms. They have the sardonic courage to preach the main persuaders to a Southern boy, taking painfully embarrassing care never to mention Negroes; but they lack the courage to make that omission inescapably clear to the audience.

Largely because of this film and his recent statement that he believes in making other movies that take chances, RKO-Radio's vice-president in charge of production, Dore Schary, is likely to be regarded by many people as a white hope and a hero. I do not question the

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goodness of his deepest motives, and I certainly wish him well; but it may as well be remembered that, at best, Hollywood's heroism is calculated to land buttered side up. Movies about Anti-Semitism aren't so desperately chancy, after all. Millions of people will look forward to them if only for the questionable excitement of hearing actors throw the word "Jew" around; Fox and Goldwyn are coming out, respectively, with "Gentleman's Agreement" and "Earth and High Heaven," and Goldwyn has astutely postponed production, not to be snowed under by his competitors. The murdered Jew in "Crossfire" was a murdered homosexual in the original novel, Richard Brooks's "The Brick Foxhole," and I learn from a reliable source that this quick shift was made, and "Crossfire" was rushed through, in order to jump the gun on the two more pretentious films. I am sorry to spend so much time on such matters, but I suspect they will be generally neglected in the pleasure of awarding Hollywood a sprinting-prize for taking Baby's First Step; and they shouldn't be neglected. All that aside, however, "Crossfire" is an unusually good and honest movie and may—I hope, will—prove a very useful one.

"The Hucksters" comes right out against radio advertising, and in the Hollywood scheme of things this is doubtless much more heroic than attacking Jew-baiters, who are not so well organized as advertising men to fight back. Some of the singing commercials are very funny, and some of the minor characters are drawn with medium shrewdness. Clark Gable seems well at ease, most of the time, but something soft and unfortunate has happened to his mouth; Deborah Kerr struggles prettily but, I'm afraid, rather compliantly, against a thorough job of packaging. I dislike the movie as I disliked what little I could read of the book: for I find uniquely nauseating the spectacle of incurable corruption laboring under delusions of honesty.

I agree with Shirley O'Hara of the *New Republic* that the period of the original "Perils of Pauline" is good for a lot more than patronizing laughter. I am also astonished that so many people find the new "Perils" so howlingly funny. People who can accept such stuff as solid gold have either forgotten a lot, or never knew first-rate slapstick when they saw it, twenty to thirty years ago, when it was one of the wonders of the world.

I am with Miss O'Hara again, and everyone else who knows what a beautiful film could be made about jazz. For years, I wished I might make a movie about New Orleans, centered on Louis Armstrong and his colleagues. I like "New Orleans" because, barring Djon Mili's rather too alligatorish short, it is the only movie ever to show any real feeling for jazz; and because the Negro musicians are much more nearly at ease than is usual in movies; and because of Armstrong, who seems to me one of the most likable people in the world, and certainly as fine a musical talent as this country has ever had. (Some unknown Negroes and whites have developed music even finer.) All the same, the movie is a crime. Not only is it horribly inept and unimaginative in everything that does not center on jazz; the jazz itself is too often cut short, or smothered as background for pictures which fail to carry it out; and as the ultimate triumph, jazz wins over a full-dress audience—which is a little as if St. Francis and his Fifty Thousand Feathered Friends became headliners at the Bronx Zoo.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RCA Victor has issued Bach's Suites Nos. 2 and 3 played by Koussevitzky with a small group from the Boston Symphony (Set 1123; $5.85). Comparison with the Busch Chamber Players' performances in the old Victor sets is again inevitable. I have only one record of the Busch version of No. 3, containing the Bourré and Gigue played with grace and sensitive contours that are in extraordinary contrast with Koussevitzky's headlong pounding. If I remember correctly, Busch's solo performance of the famous Air is pallid and

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dull; but Koussevitzky's performance—silken in tone, leaden in pace—is inferior to Toscanini's (in the set of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony), with the continuity of impetus in its quiet flow, the life in its inflection. On the other hand, the Boston performance of No. 2 has clarity, grace, and good tempos (except for a stodgy Polonaise) which enable it to stand comparison with the Busch version—though the Busch remains superior (with things like Moyse's phrasing of the Bourré II, and the subtle accentuation of the accompaniment in the Badinerie and the middle section of the Polonaise). Some of the surfaces in my copy of the new set are noisy.

From London Decca comes a well-recorded performance of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 by the Boyd Neel Orchestra (Set ED-27; $5). It is a good performance, certainly a better one than the Boston Symphony's, but without the qualities—the wonderful relaxation, lightness, and grace, clarity of texture, sensitiveness of rhythm and phrasing—that put the Busch version in a class by itself.

But then I should hate to be Adolf Busch and have the painful experience of listening to those Bach performances of his Chamber Players of a dozen years ago and then listening to the playing of his present-day Chamber Players, and in particular to the performances of Handel's twelve Concerti Grossi Opus 6 now issued by Columbia (Set 685; $28.50). They are stiff and angular in rhythm and phrasing, coarse in sound (partly because of the recording), and rob the music of the attractiveness it has as performed with relaxed plasticity, sensitive inflection, and beauty of sound by Weingartner in the older Columbia sets, which I hope will continue to be available.

Other sets issued by RCA Victor for July: Schumann's Symphony No. 4, the most engaging of the group, played only moderately well by Goossens with the Cincinnati Symphony, and the performance recorded with lack of clarity in detail and poor balance (my copy has some poor surfaces) (Set 1124; $3.85). And two symphonic poems of Franck—the lovely but repetitious "Psyché," and the uninteresting "Le Chasseur maudit"—well-performed by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony, and the performance recorded with enormous sonority and brilliance (Set 1122; $4.85).

Balanchine, we were told, had turned away from Europe; his interest now was entirely in America. And after unsatisfactory experiences with the ballet companies he wanted only what Ballet Society offered (what, indeed, one suspected it had been organized to provide): the opportunity to create and produce ballets with the young dancers he had developed in the School of American Ballet. And yet in mid-season he went off to work with the ballet of the Paris Opera—with disastrous consequences to the remaining programs of Ballet Society.

Its subscribers had been promised a new work of Balanchine, "The Minotaur," which would have carried Bolender's "Zodiac" and Dollar's "Highland Fling" on the third program. But what they got was a "Minotaur" that was the result of getting Taras in to do the job left undone by Balanchine—hardly an example of the "planned collaboration of independent easel-painters, progressive choreographers, and musicians" promised by Ballet Society's extravagantly generous prospectus—any more than "Zodiac" and "Highland Fling" were products of such planned collaboration by their choreographers with their composers and designers—nor were all three works even products of the thorough and complete preparation one expected from Ballet Society. As it happened, Taras's "Minotaur" was the one piece with some originality and interest in its choreographic invention, in which he had help from the strikingly original scenery and costumes of Joan Junyer but not, it seemed to me, from a score by Elliott Carter that was, I thought, completely irrelevant. But Taras's piece was not enough to carry the others, or to rate repetition on the last program, when a repetition instead of Balanchine's "Four Temperaments" would have compensated subscribers for Christensen's "Blackface" and Merce Cunningham's "The Seasons." In the end it was astonishing to see how much like other ballet companies this one had operated, even to the non-fulfillment of promises.

Mr. Hurok contributed the most outrageous instance of that. Having sold out the opening of his spring season at gala prices with the promise of Markova in "Giselle," he waited until the house lights were lowered to have Dolin announce she was ill and would not appear, when he must have known what I had learned accidentally the day before—that Markova had been in bed ill all that day.

But it was only a little less outrageous for the Monte Carlo management to wait until the same time with its announcements of Danilova's illness. Two friends of mine who came to see her in "Coppelia" and were informed they were going to see Krassovska in "The Nutcracker" had paid not $6 but only $2.40 for their seats; but they had got up from bed after grippe and bronchitis to come.

It seems to me that ballet companies, no less than opera companies, owe the public complete and dependable information about casts.

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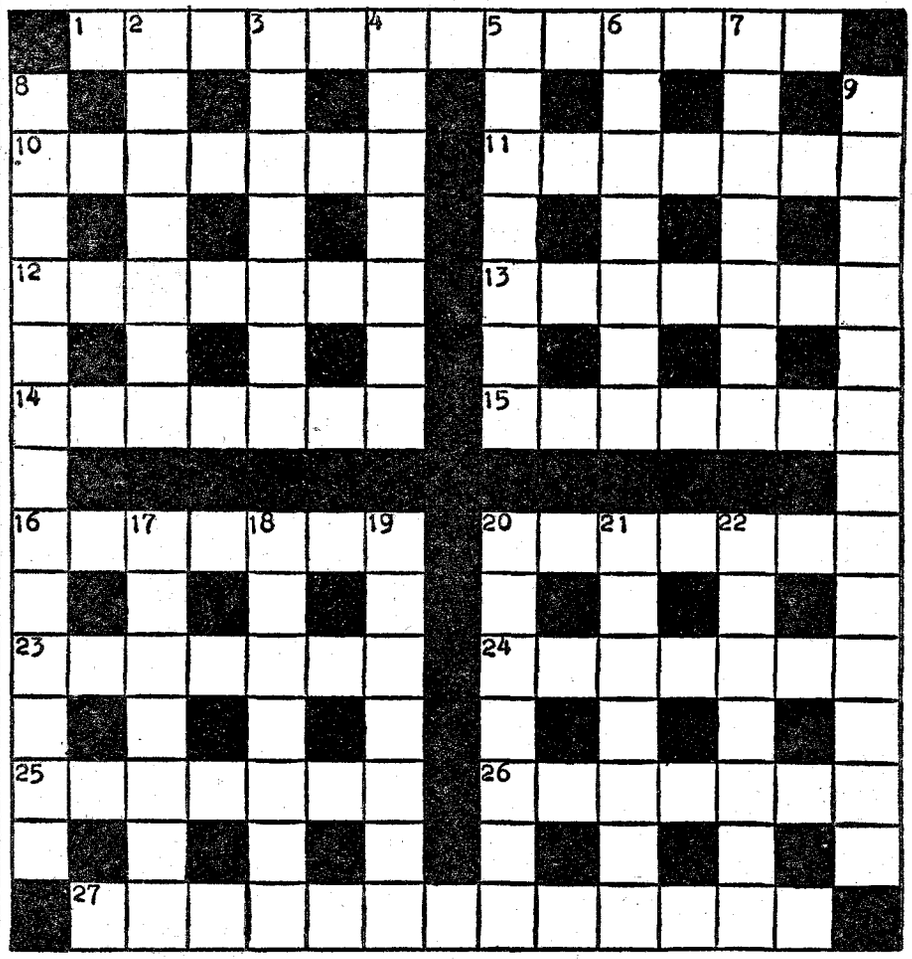
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 222 By MR. X.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the second of six puzzles constructed by Mr. X. *The Nation* will also print six puzzles constructed by a Mr. Y. in competition with Mr. X. At the end of six weeks, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

1 Stag dies. Inter or he decomposes
10 Cut and run
11 Nature is late about the act of producing milk
12 Pal for Pauline
13 Big corporations reach out in this position
14 Shears five beardless boys
15 Transmitter about fifty finds slim pickin's
16 Just investigate death. O, it's out of the question whodunit!
20 Bombs one thousand in rule by *hoi polloi*
23 O, mi nose tells me it's offensive
24 Alexander's ragtime band started in the old country
25 Can one beast be routed by Krazy Kats?
26 The vain ran to oblivion
27 Nonunion men

DOWN

2 Inability to get going; i.e.: in an uncoupled train
3 I suppose I am in an enigma
4 Golf ball wobbles on a tee rest
5 Kind of bird (probably one dead pigeon)
6 Create a hundred and accumulate more
7 Empowered to be fit into the finale
8 Were you so merciful you could compose a saint
9 Lament a temper? You must be sensitive
17 Bible question in exegesis, to be brief
18 Five at the soirée found it rather wearing
19 When the SS hide in the trees it gets in your hair
20 To me, men are a souvenir
21 Carib ad makes a rum go
22 Influx of soldiers caught in Selective Service act

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 221

ACROSS:—1 SCRAPE; 4 MARTINET; 10 COUPLET; 11 EXACTED; 12 AGILE; 13 MOT; 14 TRAIL; 15 EVENT; 17 EXPLORED; 21 COMPLETE; 23 KNIFE; 26 ACTOR; 28 WIT; 29 SHORE; 30 TACTICS; 31 GARLAND; 32 RELIEVES; 33 APPEAR.

DOWN:—1 SOCRATES; 2 ROUTINE; 3 PULSE; 5 ALERT; 6 TOAST; 7 NITRATE; 8 TODDLE; 9 STAMPEDE; 16 TIP; 18 PRESTIGE; 19 OAK; 20 DEFENDER; 22 OPTICAL; 24 ISOLATE; 25 MASTER; 27 RAISE; 28 WASTE; 29 STRIP.

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